2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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342 mats of the hut. The floor in the interior is smeared over with a
[353] mixture of cowdung and blood, often renewed, and is covered with
skins. In the centre a depression is made as a hearth for the fire, and
[354] round this are stretched the mats or skins on which the inmates sleep.
513 To the right of the rear opening is erected a frame of four poles with
a net spread over them. On and under this are placed all sorts of
household possessions.

Family and Kinship

592 Each family has its own hut, where the children remain with their
595 parents till marriage. Occasionally a number of young girls share a
hut together, also even at times a number of boys, but this is not
general. It is much more usual for the members of the family to
remain together in the same hut until a new household is formed by
[594] the marriage of a son or daughter. The family in a narrow sense thus
comprises a man, his wife, and their unmarried children.[1] All the
Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygyny, which, however, was
not practised to any great extent. More than two wives were seldom
found. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her
children, while the husband stayed as a rule in the hut of his first wife.
Nowadays, the people are ostensibly monogamists. After marriage
● 591 the wife goes to live with her husband's people, although the husband
may stay for some time with her parents' group before finally returning
with her to his own home. Marriage is thus actually patrilocal, but
in exceptional cases, if there is good reason for it, the wife will remain
altogether with her own people, the husband joining them
permanently.

594 Each family has its own herds of cattle, sheep, and goats, and in
moving with them in search of water and grass will often act
[361] independently of the rest. Nowadays it is largely the desire for
social intercourse that induces the people to form a camp, although
in the old days the need of protection against enemies must also have
been a powerful motive.

601 From the way in which related families still tend to camp together,
it will be seen that kinship is a factor of great importance in the social
life of the Hottentots. The relationship system of the people,[2] as

[1] Hahn, op. cit., 332; Kohler, op. cit., 342; Windsor, "Khoi-Khoin," 317; von François, op. cit., 212 sq.

[2] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17–23. The list of relationship terms given by Schultze, op. cit., 299–322, differs in some details from the above, and is not so complete.

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585 a son who will grow up strong and big and be a good hunter and a valiant man.

In the meantime the meat of the slaughtered animals has been cooking. When it is ready, everybody joins in the feast, the men and the women, however, eating apart. The only exception is in the case of the bridegroom, who eats sitting together with the women —but out of a separate pot and of meat specially set aside for him. [276] After the feast dagga is smoked, a pipe being passed round out of which every person inhales a few times before handing it on. This smoking bout, which owing to the nature of the herb soon degenerates into a noisy and drunken orgy, is kept up till late at night, when they are all tired and stupefied, and turn in to sleep. The bridegroom now sleeps for the first time with his wife. The festivities are continued on the following day, as long as there is still anything to eat. Dancing, according to Kolb, never takes place at the marriage ceremony, but on this point he is contradicted by most of the other writers.

Married Life

As will have been noted, the descriptions given above vary somewhat in certain details. They all agree, however, in stating that the marriage is celebrated by a special ceremony at the home of the wife's people, accompanied by a feast and general rejoicing. With the conclusion of this ceremony, which as it were stamps the seal of public approval upon the marriage contract, the young couple are legally married. Henceforth they form a separate household in the community, live in their own hut, have their own herd of cattle, sheep and goats, and in general play the part of full adult members of society.

● 591 606 Among the Naman, however, the husband continues to live with his wife at the home of her parents for at least a year after the marriage, and not till then, or until his first child has been born, is he at liberty to return with his family to his own people's camp and there establish his independent household. Before departing he has again to present to his mother-in-law a good milch cow, this time in token of his release. As long as he remains with his parents-in-law he has to perform all sorts of heavy tasks for them, and to accompany his father-in-law in the hunting field as well as to war. Sometimes, as we have already mentioned, the husband may remain permanently with his wife's people. As a rule, however, this matrilocal residence is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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only temporary, and nowadays the period of its duration is often shortened to only a few weeks or even days. On the return of the man to his own people, his mother is required to slaughter an animal as a sign of welcome to his wife, who then reciprocates the gesture in the same way. Neglect on the part of the mother-in-law to provide this welcome is regarded as implying unfriendliness towards the young wife.[1]

The status of the wife in Hottentot society is far from being that of an inferior. Although as a rule she plays a subordinate rôle in matters pertaining to tribal life, and in public always walks several paces behind her husband, yet her position in the household is supreme, and the education of the children is wholly in her hands. She is regarded as the mistress of the hut, which she brings with her at marriage, and of all its contents. She even has the right in certain circumstances to forbid her husband to enter it. She has her own property in cattle, some given to her by her parents while she was still a child, others when she was married, and her husband will not venture to sell or slaughter an animal belonging to her without her consent or in her absence. Even if he intends to barter his own stock he usually first consults her, and during his absence she also controls the pasturing of the herds. She supervises or herself does the milking which provides the household with most of its food, and controls all the provisions, allotting to each his food according to status and age, and brooking no contradiction. Her husband may not even take a mouthful of milk without first obtaining her permission, and should he do so, says Hahn, his nearest female relatives will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which are to be added to the stock of his wife.[2]

All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygamy. It seems, however, to have been practised to only a slight extent, and as a rule only the more powerful and wealthy men appear to have had more than one wife. In any case the number of wives seldom exceeded two or three. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, and had also her own property. The first wife married, however, was the chief wife, and took unlimited precedence. Her

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 18; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," 318; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–4; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Schultze, *Nama-land und Kalahari*, 297, 518; Hoernlé, *Richtersveld*, 16.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 46; Hahn, op. cit., 19; Schultze, op. cit., 299; Schinz, op. cit. 82; Wandres, "Ueber das Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Hottentotten," 279; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25–6; *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cmd. 9146), 71.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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614 621 the //*Neigamas*, and the *!Gurusin* are said to be sibs descended from the sisters of these brothers whose husbands remained with the wives' people, instead of taking their wives to their own tribes, or sibs, as is usually done. It is still a Nama custom that [591] a woman should remain with her own people if there is good reason for it, and a woman often marries a man on that understanding. At the same time marriages between members of different tribes were very frequent in the past, and the women of a family might be scattered far and wide over the country after marriage.

622 614 When the tribe was first formed, the chieftainship was in the */Gari Gein* sib, as one would expect, but nowadays the chieftainship has passed to the second branch, the */Gari !Nagaman*. According to the headmen of the tribe, who corroborate what the present chief, David Swartbooi, told me, the chieftainship passed from the one sib to the other when the elder branch became almost extinct. There are to-day only two or three people represented in this sib.

622 614 551 There are in all ten chiefs concerning whom I obtained information. The earliest to be remembered is /Khanabib, who is followed in order by Tsamkau, Tsaugab, Tsauxab, ≠Aubib, !Huisib, William Swartbooi (Sir James Alexander's friend), then !Huisib's son !Habib Abraham Swartbooi, then !Habib's son Cornelius Swartbooi /Hoa/arab, then William Swartbooi's youngest son !Habib ≠ami, and now the latter's son !Hanamub David Swartbooi. David was from 1897 until 1923 a prisoner in Windhoek, owing to supposed intrigues against the Germans, but has now been allowed to go back to his tribe in Franzfontein. He is an old man now, so that his son, Petrus Swartbooi, !Hara Geib, has actually been made headman of the tribe by the present Administration.

614 551 It is interesting to note that the */Gari !Nagaman* are beginning to drop this name for the sib and to call themselves Tsauxan, after the chief of that name whom they claim as the first chief to come from their sib. Further, there is a sib being formed from these *Tsauxan* the members of which call themselves */Oa Gaon*, which means the younger branch of the chief's (*gaob*) sib. They have not taken any other name for themselves as yet, and are

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

557 2. ǂAriseb ǂkhami, ǂArise the younger one.

If there are three sons, then the following appellative or cognominal distinctions are made:

1. ǂAriseb geib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-māb—*i.e.*, ǂArise the-lower-standing, *i.e.*, the second.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami. ǂAriseb the younger one or the youngest.

If there are four sons, the denomination runs thus:

1. ǂAriseb geib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-māb.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami.

4. ǂAriseb ǀnagā-mā-ǂkhami.

If there are five sons, the denomination is like the preceding, where there are four; the fifth one is called ǀgaob, and if it is a daughter ǀgaos, which means the "cut off." And if there are more than five sons, mere cognomina such as ǂnūb, the dark one, ǀhaib, the fawn-coloured one, ǀawab, the red one, ǀnubub, the short one, gāχub, the tall one, &c., are used.

In exactly the same way the daughters are called after the father; for instance, Xaṃ-ǀhab being the father, the suffix *s* of the feminine gender is simply put in place of the masculine *b* and we thus receive:—1. Xam-ǀhās geis. 2. Xam ǀhas ǀnagu-mās. 3. Xam ǀhas ǂkhams, &c. This custom will guide us, when in the sequel we have to explain the relationship of mythological persons. There is, for instance, ǃUrisib, the son of Heitsi-eibib. Our old storyteller did not give us the name of the wife of ǃUrisib. But from knowing her son's name to be ǃUrisib, we quite correctly infer that her name certainly was ǃUrisi-s.

591 234 562 The eldest daughter was highly respected; to her was entirely left the milking of the cows. This was in accordance with the respect shown to the female sex in general. There is a nice charming little song illustrating this.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Ti χamse ! My lioness ! 562

!Gaibista ǀaote ! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539 thee ?

Gomasa ke ǀausi ǁgani !omsaŭ !

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere ! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me !

ǀGabi-ǀkhatere ! Pour for me (milk) !

Ti χamse ! My lioness.

Gei khoits ōase ! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [601] sister's daughter, "*Ti χamse*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still takes, was 562 to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 591 577 name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 576 finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (ǀgaru-ti) and of bending poles 174 (ǀhana-gu) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (ǁhoe-ti), and wooden dishes (ǀoreti), and wooden basins and bowls (a-χu-ti or ǀgabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [172] ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 323 style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap (pot sū-s, to boil, to cook sāi).